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614 778 202 card slipped under the front door. It may be remarked that the *heratu* is never worn or carried by a man simply as a badge. It is an identity mark *in absentia*.

(*b*) *As a Mark of Individual Abstinence.* The next use for 614 778 the *heratu* is a somewhat singular one. It is used by individuals as a sign of abstinence, a sort of self-inflicted tabu, whenever such abstinence has been the outcome of some ● 201 577 quarrel or grievance. The Orokaiva is very prone when his feelings are hurt to punish himself rather than the man who has hurt them; or, perhaps better, to take revenge upon the other party by punishing himself.

Thus, if a man fall out with his wife, he will thrust a sprig of his *heratu* through his armlet, and while he continues to wear it will receive no food of her cooking. Not that he altogether starves himself into relenting; some friend will cook for him until his mood softens, and then there are interchanges of gifts between the wife's people and his own, and, as I am assured, invariable reconciliation. Similarly a wife who has been accused by her husband of sponging on him, not working for her keep, will advertise her grief and indignation by wearing her *heratu*, and will for the time being refuse to eat another taro out of his garden.

A bunch of drooping leaves may be seen tied to a coconut palm in the village. The owner has fallen out with his neighbour over the boundary of his garden. The row of tree-trunks which constitutes the usual garden border has been displaced and shows an encroaching and unwarrantable bulge. Therefore he has set up his *heratu* to indicate that he has been imposed upon, and has broken off friendly relations with his neighbour; he will accept no hospitality from him (and give none) until the matter has been adjusted. Another man nurses some resentment against a near-by village. If he were bidden to a feast there he would go, but with his *heratu* in his armlet; and when the wooden dish of savoury taro was placed before him, he would wave it aside, or lay his *heratu* upon the food to show that he could not accept the hospitality of those who had wronged him. Then the offender would be put to shame and punished, and be sorry for what he had done.

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sometimes finds a man living as a member of a clan and owning its *heratu*, but at the same time boasting a private sign for himself. We have seen a man, Euga of the Jega-Juaraha (*heratu juara*), setting up a *naterari* of *euga* wood (vide p. 119), and two members of the Pure clan distinguishing themselves by the synonymous plants of their grandparents or parents. Among the Binandele clan of Diriu is a man Taimi, who, besides the feather of the blue pigeon (*diriu*), has a *heratu* of his own, viz. *tai*, a root. No doubt the pigeon feather is not always at hand; but the root of any plant placed conspicuously on the track is enough to show his friends that Taimi has passed by.

(*c*) *Summary on the Heratu as a Badge.* It remains to say something more of the *heratu* as a badge or identity token, and lastly to discuss its bearing on the question of totemism.

Of the three main uses of the *heratu* previously described, viz. (1) as an identity token, (2) as a mark of individual abstinence, (3) as the *naterari*, or village tabu post, the last will seem tolerably clear. The *naterari* stands as a symbol of the dead man in whose behalf the tabu is imposed. Formerly it may have been something more than a formal symbol of the dead, in fact a crude image. This association between the wooden post and the dead man which it represents is strengthened by using his particular namesake tree: then, besides other associations, the two have this important bond between them—a common name.

The second use remains somewhat obscure, though it has this in common with the *naterari*, that in both the *heratu* is really a tabu sign.

The first use, however, is the fundamental one. The *heratu* is a badge; and it is a badge by virtue of the fact that it bears the same name (or nearly the same name) as the man or men it represents. We may therefore call it a synonymous badge. A man named Waiwa once explained the matter to me thus. 'You white men', he said, 'have your books. If you went to your friend's garden and took his taro, you would write your name in the book, and when he came and saw your name there he would be content, knowing that his taro had been taken by a friend. But the New

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Attempts at Standardization

Native morality is for the most part inexplicit; we do not expect to find an established code, and it is mainly by observing conduct and its apparent reaction on the public mind that we arrive at any general principles. But it is worth mentioning the few incipient traces of standardization. The foregoing list of virtues will call to mind the *otohu* ideal, the character of the *otohu-embo*, and the instructions which are given to the youth or girl who receives the emblem (pp. 191, 204, 205). Apart from being urged on to deeds of valour, the recipient was enjoined, with more insistence perhaps, to observe the milder social virtues which would make him an amenable or respectable member of the group. Such versions as I heard of the moral instruction given at the *otohu* ceremony were possibly somewhat abbreviated, but their tone was consistent, and it is fair to say that the *otohu* injunctions are a brief *précis* of social morality, and would thus constitute a standardization, albeit only transmissible by word of mouth.

There is a word *iggo* (Binandele *yego*) which may be translated 'moral law', or perhaps, since the examples are all negative, 'moral prohibition'. The examples were such as the following: not to steal a man's vegetables, canoes, spears, &c.; not to usurp his fishing rights; not to take his dog to hunt, but to drive it back if it followed the hunter of its own accord; not to commit adultery; not to beat one's wife overmuch; not to commit assault on another man. These *iggo* were for adults; they did not apply to children, who had to be treated with so much indulgence; still less to dogs, whose nature it was to steal on sight. While not implying standardization, the mere existence of the word hints at a definite conception of right and wrong.

With respect to property it is worth noting under this head the various tangible protection marks. Whatever their sanctions they have no real value as physical barriers to trespass or appropriation.

(1) The commonest is *papuru* or *esu*, the frond of coco-nut palm tied about the butt, which means that no one is to

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climb for nuts. (2) The *beri* is a strip of bark or a liana tied to uprights and encircling a house or some forbidden ground. (3) A *haribari* is some object, usually leaf or twig, placed in the cleft of a split stick and set up, e.g., at the mouth of a creek as a sign of a fishing right. (4) *Inja* is simply a few handfuls of grass laid across a track to bar the passage. We might include (5) the *naterari* and *pamba* (p. 226), which serve to mark a village tabu on the coconuts, and (6) logically enough the ordinary garden boundary, *tani*, which consists merely of a series of tree-trunks or branches laid on the ground between adjacent plots. These are all regarded quite strictly: no man would step over an *inja* or take a short cut across an area enclosed by a *beri*. Less regular marks which may serve as reminders for some casual rule are observed with equal stringency. For instance, I have seen an eight of diamonds wedged in a split stick and set up in a village to forbid the playing of cards; it had been erected by a man of influence who has somehow acquired conscientious scruples regarding the forbidden game. The sanctions for the strict observance of these marks will be discussed presently; the signs themselves are described here merely to show the existence of tangible safeguards, principally, but not always, of the law of property.

Education

We have discussed at length the theoretical standard or ideal of morality; but performance naturally falls short of the ideal, and we have now to consider the means by which Orokaiva society seeks to prevent that falling-short. It is not necessary to dwell upon the customary sanction, which is as obvious here as in other primitive societies. Suffice it to say that the almost automatic obedience of the native to the customs of his people and his almost unfailing concurrence in social desires go a long way to account for the law-abidingness which we have seen to be characteristic of the Orokaiva group. Nor is it necessary to treat at length of direct training as a means of ensuring morality, viz. the means of education. Education in the broader sense of the word is as much a means toward morality with natives as